

Religious Roots: A Prolegomenon to Moral Judgment in American Policy

by

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**RELIGIOUS ROOTS: A PROLEGOMENON TO MORAL JUDGMENT IN AMERICAN
POLICY**

by

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RELIGIOUS ROOTS:
A PROLEGOMENON TO MORAL JUDGEMENT IN AMERICAN POLICY

*Lex Orandi, Lex Credendi*¹

—Prosper

This axiom, commonly attributed to Prosper of Aquitaine, literally translated is, “The law of prayer is the law of belief.” Prosper was a 5th century theologian and disciple of Augustine. Taken in the liturgical context for which it was written, it means that how man worships dictates man’s beliefs; and though written for the undivided Christian church of his day, it has universal application. As the *primum movens*, religious belief affects everything we do, influencing ethics, values, and interests. Far from being an insulated field of study disconnected from all other disciplines, this belief is the cornerstone of public policy. Understanding the religious and ideological nature of policymaking, which is the thesis of this essay, is fundamental to developing strategically effective and enduring U.S. policy, both foreign and domestic. This is important because religion is an unavoidable, though often neglected, aspect of policy formulation, applying universally. Misunderstanding this point or reducing policy’s nature solely to values or interests can lead to ambiguous policy, or worse, undesirable political outcomes. Comprehending this fundamental relationship will help government policy makers make better informed, deliberate choices, which will in turn facilitate a more secure national security environment.

Philosophical Roots – All Policy Is Faith-Based

To understand this idea requires a philosophical approach. According to Daniel N. Robinson, a professor of philosophy at Georgetown University, the three central areas in the study of philosophy are, in order, the problem of knowledge (epistemology – “how do I know?”), the problem of conduct (ethics – “how do I live?”), and the problem of governance (political philosophy).² In other words, in order to know how to govern, one must first struggle with the nature of what is fundamentally true and how to prove it, and then which right-versus-wrong decisions and behaviors naturally proceed from that belief system. Only once these first two conditions are met can one create a method of governance. It does not matter if a person has the intellectual capacity or has taken the time to ponder these progressive steps towards political philosophy; everyone who governs, does so through this manner. It also does not matter whether the method of ruling is discerned consciously or unconsciously, deliberately or *ad hoc*, collectively via consensus, or individually via coup. Without exception, all systems, including tyrannies, democracies, oligarchies, are manifestations of this process; it is *philosophically unavoidable*.³

Two concepts are germane to this issue. First, religion, despite its usual connection with belief in a deity, has other connotations. Definitions include, “a cause, principle, or system of beliefs held to with ardor and faith,”⁴ and, “a set of beliefs concerning the cause, nature, and purpose of the universe, especially when considered as the creation of a superhuman agency or agencies, usually involving devotional and ritual observances, and often containing a moral code governing the conduct of human affairs.”⁵ The second is ideology. It can be defined as, “the body of doctrine, myth,

belief, etc., that guides and individual, social movement, institution, class, or large group...with reference to some political or social plan....”⁶ It is described variously as “an interrelated set of convictions or assumptions that reduces the complexities of a particular slice of reality to easily comprehensible terms...”⁷ and “a set of fixed ideas felt to be in fallible.”⁸

Although both concepts often refer to different subjects, there is a degree of overlap in the definitions which is sometimes difficult to categorize, since certain belief systems oscillate between the two, such as Buddhism and secular humanism.⁹ In any case, for the purposes of this essay, the common denominator is belief. Can political philosophy rely on fact instead of belief? In many ways the answer is yes, but epistemologically, the answer is categorically no. This is due to a subset of epistemology called philosophical skepticism, which questions whether man can ever undeniably know anything. As in all forms of science, the question is an open one; philosophers from Rene Descartes, who when contemplating this problem famously reduced it to “Cogito ergo Sum,” to David Hume, who argued that all effects must have causes and that proving indubitably those beyond observation was impossible,¹⁰ have shown that reliably proving anything beyond doubt is, to date, impossible – hence the necessity of belief. All religious and ideological systems are *faith-based*, which does not mean there is no reasonable evidence; it means there is no proof.

Further, all belief systems (whether grounded in religion or ideology) contain ethical systems from which adherence to certain values develop. These allegiances between ethical systems and values, defined by some religiously, others ideologically, are foundational to everything we do. They are our right versus wrong, and our good

versus bad. They emanate sociologically from childhood, interrogatively manifested from toddlers in repetitive, formative questions like, “Daddy, is he *good*? Is that *bad*?” Once our ethical systems are established, they are subsequently reinforced by sociological rituals, customs, and norms, and depending on our environment, can be more or less exposed to challenge throughout life. The opening epigraph describes how this moral linkage, which cannot be separated from our social moorings, is traced to belief.

The concept of worship influencing belief might be unsettling, particularly for those who do not self-identify as religious. The understanding of *lex orandi* in its liturgical sense is more universal however; it could just as well mean, the law of *non-prayer* is the law of belief. The Greek word, Λειτουργία, from which “liturgy” is derived, in essence means what “people do,” and is associated with public service in the ancient Greek polis system. In essence, the opening epigraph simply means that how we live our lives and the rituals of daily life, including our role as citizens of the state, eventually influence our beliefs.¹¹

Sometimes educators, attempting to force students to re-evaluate facts outside of pre-conceived belief systems (usually at the beginning of a course), offer their pupils the technique of “suspending assumptions.”¹² The intent is to encourage students to examine issues from alternative viewpoints. While some use it nefariously as a veiled trick to undermine belief in one system or another, overall a willingness to look at facts from other viewpoints has some distinctly positive attributes, since there are many people in the world with a plethora of ways of understanding their environment. A problem arises, however, when the technique is used to arrive at some sort of neutral,

irreligious understanding.¹³ One can suspend judgment, but only temporally, never morally. Once a person makes a decision or takes a stance, it is done with the understanding that such a stance is what he or she deems morally and ethically right or good. Without such a decision, all one has is merely facts. Policy makers, lawmakers, judges, educators, leaders – people in general – can never arrive at an amoral, or, as some would define it, secular (in the sense of neutral or without a faith attachment) decision. They will always decide based on what they deem right or good; wrong or bad. This remains true whether a decision is trivial or consequential, regardless of how consciously the decision is made. *All decisions are moral*¹⁴, some just more obviously than others.

This point relates to governance and specifically, policy, for policy is essentially a political decision. Policy resides within the realm of political philosophy as a derivative of governance. It is a course of action adopted and pursued by a government, ruler or political party.¹⁵ It is an official, values-infused, *political statement of direction*. An instructional textbook at the United States Army War College outlines in very general terms the developmental path of policy formulation. According to its rubric, the Strategy Formulation Model, national purpose, informed by enduring beliefs, ethics and values, generates national interests, which in turn lead to strategic vision and subsequently policy.¹⁶ This model complements Professor Robinson's philosophical methodology stated previously. The consequences are wide-reaching, particularly for a government as powerful and influential as the United States. By nature relational, policy therefore articulates what governments think is morally important, how they will relate to their

citizenry and the rest of the world community, engendering trust or suspicion, and strongly influences law, budgets and international relations.

Policy unavoidably stems from religious or ideological belief. It is always values-based, and those values are always conceived morally or immorally (never amorally) from ethical systems based on religion or ideology. What about adherents of secularism? They might take issue with this assertion, maintaining that they do not feel particularly religious, but rather profess rationally-based reasoning grounded on facts. Many secular humanists would fall into this category. A branch of humanism¹⁷ estranged from its Christian counterpart, secular humanism straddles religious and ideological delineations, albeit non-theistically. Though the first “Humanist Manifesto,”¹⁸ a statement of beliefs outlining secular thought from prominent early 20th century philosophers, Unitarian ministers, and members of academia, including John Dewey, is openly religious in tone, subsequent manifestos are incrementally less so.¹⁹ Regardless, even the U.S. Supreme Court has recognized their ideology as religious under certain circumstances.²⁰ The problem is inherently not what humanists (or anyone else) feel, however. Claiming emotional attachment to certain principles is immaterial. The intellectual point, as previously shown, is that science and philosophy cannot *prove* any belief system. Those who believe in atheistic systems can no more conclusively prove the absence of God than theists can prove the antithesis. Therefore, the moral and ethical decisions made by secular humanists are as faith-based as those made by any religious adherent. Philosophical proof in any system is lacking; all groups are limited to defending their principles with reasonable argument.

In short, *policy is faith-based governmental intent*. Additionally, *all policy is religious and moral by nature; it is philosophically unavoidable*. Despite appeals towards irreligion, even secular humanism has religious character—it blurs ideological and religious lines, has advocates who describe it as religious, is recognized as such constitutionally under specific *free exercise* conditions, is philosophically faith-based, and (most importantly for the purposes of this paper) adheres easily to both stated definitions of religion. Given that all policy therefore stems from faith-based, moral, religious decisions, what are the ramifications on the formulation and execution of policy? In order for U.S. policy makers to answer this question and steer future political decisions, they must first know how American policy has developed over time and where it has taken us in the landscape of ideas. Have the historical methods of evaluating U.S. public policy sufficiently equipped policy makers in their roles?

Methods of Evaluating Policy – Historically Scarce and Insufficient

Governments are faith-based institutions. The various expressions of governments and their policies show inherently what their founders and policy makers fundamentally believe. Indeed, James Madison wrote, “What is government itself but the greatest of all reflections on human nature?”²¹ Plato even stated that ideas are the realm of the real world, and proposed that philosopher kings, those who understand the philosophical nature of government, should be the ones to wield political power.²² It follows that those who understand the fundamental nature of policy would be in the best position to craft it. Given its importance, there should be an abundance of resources to prepare pundits in understanding religion’s important historical affiliation with U.S. policy, as well as how that policy might reflect and affect the religious composition of our

society. Political education should emphasize the exclusive nature of religion and what effect this might have on policy. Is this the case in our government, that is, are U. S. policy makers up to the task? If not, this could lead to undesirable outcomes in either policy stability or resilience. Furthermore, even if they are prepared, is religion simply too sophisticated or divisive a subject from which to understand policy, or should policy makers concentrate on less freighted, more traditional concepts, such as values and interests?

According to an article by three scholars associated with the Witherspoon Institute, modernist political theory presented to students of government over the last few decades did not adequately prepare the current cadre of elites who engage in policy and diplomacy.²³ Leo Ribuffo describes the “connection between American religion and foreign relations” as a “little-studied subject.”²⁴ When it does appear, it is sporadic; materializing in hermeneutically-sealed descriptions unrelated to the events surrounding them.²⁵ Paul Boyer discounts “aggressive secular humanism” and “scholarly hostility to religion” as the underlying reasons for this, offering instead a subtler “misplaced fear of violating the separation of church and state,” secular politics and modernization.²⁶ In any case, there is an incremental but definite trend in recent decades, particularly among the elite,²⁷ and also directly proportional to the amount of education someone receives,²⁸ away from Christianity, America’s most predominant religion, towards atheism or lack of religious identity.²⁹ Moreover, American colleges are beginning to offer degrees in secular studies, to better understand the beliefs and ethics of “mushrooming of atheist and secular-humanist groups around the country.”³⁰

This trend is creating a concept which is difficult to quantify, a “pallid gospel of the American way – ‘very often a religiousness without religion, a religiousness with almost any kind of content or none.’”³¹ This tendency towards non-traditional religion carries with it a commensurate ideological shift towards post-modernism and relativism, which contain very different, secular ethical systems.³² Keeping in mind the link between religion and policy, without intentional measures to understand it, this can lead to unpredictable results within the policy formulation process. Without a solid grasp of religion, policy makers are left with a superficial understanding of any second or third order effects of the policies they institute; they are more liable to enact policies which have underlying religious premises that logically contradict, or which fundamentally conflict with those of other religious groups and nations.³³ It is apparent from these illustrations that, despite its importance, there is a historical dearth of scholarly research connecting American religion and policy. Additionally, American religious demographics are changing, and collectively, the impact on policy formulation will be challenging.

In order to further comprehend the influence of religion on policy, it must be understood that *all religions are exclusive*; all ideologically compete for dominance, not neutrality or coexistence, and one of the methods of their influence is through policy (again, political philosophy to ethics to epistemology - how I govern influences others to act on what I ethically believe to be true). Moreover, battling ideologies tend to become physical battles when not solved in the minds of men, either directly, or more commonly, as they flesh themselves out in the form of law and policy.³⁴

To amplify, while not every religion advocates open proselytizing, every religion implicitly asserts itself as truth, even if it explicitly asserts otherwise. As it comes into

contact with another form of belief, wherever principles differ, each form asserts itself over the other. This may be intuitive of more outwardly exclusive (ideologically) religions like Christianity, which asserts that Christ is the only truth.³⁵ What about pluralistic religious belief, such as advocated by moral relativistic ethics within secular humanism? Outwardly it seems very accommodating and inclusive, epitomized by the prolific bumper sticker, “COEXIST.” It is a very popular form of religious thought, which “goes so far as to say that not only are all religions equally true, but they all say roughly the same thing,”³⁶ usually summarized as the “golden rule.” By way of example, our nation’s chief policy maker, President Barack Obama, professes these influences on his policies through repeated interfaith public statements. Part of this outreach is due to his natural role as a leader of a religiously pluralistic society, but part is undoubtedly actual belief, due to his own professed influences growing up.³⁷ While outwardly inclusive, religious pluralism is actually implicitly very exclusive; it asserts as truth that multiple, contradicting religious principles are somehow logically cohesive. Even if pressed to distill some of the more opposing principles, the resulting ideology is a form which asserts itself as truth, over Islam, Buddhism, etc. All religions exhibit this characteristic.

To say that one system acts peremptorily or prejudicially over others (not in the pejorative sense) while insinuating that another does not, particularly when debating policy initiatives, reveals an unexamined perspective. Attempts to merge systems with conflicting premises defy logic’s second law, the law of non-contradiction (A cannot equal non-A),³⁸ and are failure-prone. This does not mean however, that individual premises and principles from competing ideologies cannot be extracted and combined into some new system—this is exactly what happens in worldviews. It also does not

mean that differing ideologies cannot coexist relatively peaceably for a time, as long as the various conditions in life which position one set of incompatible values against another have not convened to the point of conflict. It does mean, however, that there are elementary pitfalls to remain cognizant of when understanding policy outside of a religious or ideological lens, pitfalls which can remain latent, but which can lead to conflict over time. These ideological snares exist wherever underlying religious tenets contradict.

As demonstrated, exhaustive scholarly information on the religious-political connection within the United States is scarce, U.S. religious demographics are diverse and shifting, and each religion vies for influence over others in ways that can create pitfalls if not properly understood. This, in addition to the case for policy's religious roots, should contend for a thoroughly religious understanding of policy, political history, policy makers, and their influences. But religion and the plethora of ideas that flow from its various forms are understandably difficult to grasp, not to mention contentious.³⁹ Are there other, simpler rubrics for architects and students of policy to use which could facilitate the appropriate level of understanding? What about thinking in terms of worldviews or mental maps, values versus interests, or political theories such as realism and liberalism? Simpler constructs have advantages and disadvantages.

Worldviews, for instance, are complicated, muddled mixes of thought; lenses through which each individual is informed and judges the world. They are comprehensive conceptions or images of the universe and of humanity's relation to it.⁴⁰ If man were a god, he would create via his worldview. Worldviews are informed externally, but oftentimes the informing stimuli are themselves interpreted through

worldview. They are typically a smorgasbord of ideas; rare is the pure Kantian, untainted Calvinist, or uncorrupted modernist – and just like a successful culinary experiment offered on the menu to others, with enough influence, worldviews themselves can expand into new religions. Though not defended in this manner from inside (again, they purport to be truth), this is arguably what contributed to religions like Islam, Jehovah's Witnesses, Mormons and others.

If a person has a Christian worldview,⁴¹ he or she may primarily hold to the tenets of Roman Catholicism for example, and identify as such, but could also possess ideas from Orthodoxy, Protestantism, and secular humanism, to name only a few. Because of their diversity, worldviews are useful when trying to discern factors that make up a particular perspective when all of those aspects might not be apparent. Out of seven billion people, rarely would two worldviews be exactly the same. Many smaller differences within major common worldviews are minor or negligible. A hazard lies not only in determining the worldview of a particular person, or the government or policy he or she represents, but rather interpreting it correctly through one's own worldview. Policy is always directly influenced by worldview, and this is much more multi-faceted than most people realize; it is important not to over-generalize. Most discussions treat the theme of worldview like Cyclops; a more accurate depiction would be Argus, the giant of Greek mythology with one hundred eyes.

For example, a news commentator might refer to President Ahmadinejad's Islamic worldview influencing a particular action. This immediately evokes certain images in a listener's mind based on his or her own worldview. This is informative as far as it goes, but would it be more descriptive to explain his worldview through an

examination of Shi'ism? Further, is he a Twelver (the largest branch of Shia Islam)?⁴²

How is he influenced by internal power politics and the nuances of being a public face of Shia clerics? How has materialism affected his decision-making? What role does Persian history and his international image play? These are all questions that an uncritical generalization of "Islamic Worldview" might leave unanswered.

For another illustration, reflect on American policy and worldviews. Certainly American presidents have shared some form of western worldview, broadly defined. But the policies of Presidents George Washington, Woodrow Wilson, Dwight Eisenhower, Jimmy Carter, Ronald Reagan, G. W. Bush and Barack Obama are different. Which one of these was strongly influenced by his Christian worldview? The answer is all of them, to some degree. Historian Andrew Preston observes that several strands of American foreign policy, as disparate as idealism and apocalyptic messianism to realism, have been influenced by Christian worldview.⁴³ When examining the influence of a Christian worldview, the surveyor needs to account for such differences as denomination and eschatology, as well as influences of materialism, nationalism, politics, and secularism, to name just a few.⁴⁴ Far from being minor, tangential or peripheral connections, these overlooked associations are sometimes pivotal in understanding the underlying values and predilections that drive various policies, or which cause them to come into conflict. Sometimes the effects of the use of power within policy can set a precedent that becomes part of a worldview in its own right. Tony Smith traces the concept of American exceptionalism as the impetus behind "progressive imperialism" from President Wilson to George W. Bush. Smith defines the trend in secular terms as descended from both racism and religion, despite both presidents identifying strongly as

Christians.⁴⁵ Worldview examination is helpful in understanding the confluence of religious ideas, but determining all of their nuances within even one person can be demanding. If used as a simpler rubric, it could be misleading; accomplished thoroughly, it can aid in discovering religious associations to policy.

How useful are mental maps in understanding policy? According to Alan Henrikson, a mental map is the “cognitive frame on the basis of which historians of international relations, like diplomats and others who think and act internationally, orient themselves in the world.”⁴⁶ The concept is tied to worldview, but includes geospatial cognitive framing, and some form of qualitative judgment. Henrikson claims there are three ways for countries to view themselves spatially: Through careful detailed analysis of cartographic traditions (if one’s country is in the center of the map, it is indicative), to study the geographical content of their language (words like “heartland,” “domino,” and “another Vietnam”), and finally, to travel through other countries and see the land for oneself.⁴⁷ A population in Russia, land-locked on several sides and often invaded, might develop a natural propensity to feel insecure, for example. This adds another worthy dimension to the worldview discussion.

Values and interests are often used to either justify or understand policy. Values are ideals, customs and institutions for which society maintains a regard; an object or quality desirable as a means in and of itself.⁴⁸ National values are those which manifest themselves collectively in a nation’s society. Interests are that “which is deemed by a particular state (actor) to be a...desirable goal.”⁴⁹ National interests are those values for which a country is willing to use an instrument of power, diplomatic, informational, military, economic or legal. Though not necessarily always linear in causation, religion

generally informs ethical systems, which enlighten values; and depending on the religious-ethical view of the use of power, certain values become interests. Values and interests dictate policy. Depending on the ethical view of the society, power, influence and reputation themselves can be valued as interests, though rarely are they strategically communicated in that manner.

Sometimes this linkage between values and interests is not communicated in a way which facilitates understanding. A good example of this phenomenon is stating that a nation's values conflict with its interests. In one sense, this is impossible, as interests proceed from values. The United States, by way of example, might value both unrestrained access to energy resources and the democratization of a populace under an oppressive regime, both within the same country. Both are values, and depending on the conditions, might conflict with one another to the point where policy makers might have to choose one over the other. The level of interest, the amount and type of power the U.S. is willing to commit to each, depends on how those values are religiously defined. A simple discussion of values, or how they conflict with interests, without a deeper understanding of the underlying religious motivations, is not descriptive enough to be informative.

Additionally, as opposed to a fairly staggering array of worldviews as described previously, there is a very manageable, finite set of values, particularly in the context of codified national and international values. But allowing for variances in religion and worldviews, what one means when advocating a particular value is uncertain, as the principles derived from a worldview to support that value are legion. What are America's values, and are their interpretations uniform? What are America's historic religions, and

how do they inform those values? Its values, and to some extent the underlying religious worldviews, are expressed in a variety of strategic and legal documents, from the Declaration of Independence and Constitution to the various national strategy statements which delineate how we will achieve our policies. Further, there is an abundance of historical records which aid in the understanding of the American interpretation of those values, but interpretations can change over time. Lawmakers in the U.S. question whether the Constitution, infused with values, should be interpreted through the eyes of the original framers, or through more modern, living eyes, ones which see international law in equal standing with the Constitution. Moreover, many of the framers religiously understood man as being born free; created by God and therefore entitled to certain rights. As the Progressive movement developed, these values were re-interpreted through religiously different eyes in ways that are perpetuated today within modern liberalism.⁵⁰ Any informative discussion of values must include religious interpretations.

The United States ostensibly values promoting the “general welfare,” for example.⁵¹ How far should U.S. policy makers go in stating and enforcing their goals to accomplish this end? Depending on the religious mindset, this could have several completely different ramifications. It could lead to either a restrained or intrusive foreign policy, depending on all factors and the religious worldview of those wielding power.⁵² Another illustration is “freedom;” what it is exactly depends on ideological perspective. Liberty and autonomy, for example, are different constructs, and how Americans have historically viewed the overall principle of freedom has shifted over the years, from an understanding of freedom as liberty, to the idea of freedom as autonomy.⁵³ Civil

governance systems subtly change as societal ideologies change (as shown, beliefs have direct impacts on laws and policy). As U.S. citizens' understanding of freedom changes from 'under' to 'from' governance, for example, the U.S. also slowly transforms from a representative republic or Kantian liberal democracy⁵⁴ to a true democracy. According to Plato, this tendency is natural (and subsequently leads to tyranny),⁵⁵ a sentiment echoed for different reasons by President John Adams.⁵⁶

National policy is generally not the result of any one person. It is the product of an aggregate worldview composed of the individuals or groups with the predominant influence in the governing body, and is influenced to varying degrees by any and all groups they associate with. The values that remain after dialogue, arguments, discussions, and all the dynamics of human personality become the winner in the ideological battle over policy. Someone's faith-based agenda wins. During modern U.S. political dialogue, there is a tendency to try and openly restrain religious discourse in favor of neutrality. Often, policy makers appeal to limit the discussion to values and interests. Again, all decisions are moral, and to the winner go all the spoils of national power: domestically—law, judicial interpretation, budgetary decisions and fiscal policy; internationally—instruments of national power which turn those values into interests, depending on how much power nations want to exert in relation to others' interests. Those who abandon their religious values due to these uninformed petitions unwittingly abandon the argument and cede policy decisions to the religious and ideological values of others.⁵⁷ Therefore, as a rubric for understanding policy, an examination of values and interests without religion is not thorough enough.

Understanding policy through the political philosophies of realism or idealism can provide insight, but again, there are limitations. Realism “views international relations primarily through the prism of power,” and liberalism “through the prism of state policy preferences.”⁵⁸ In either case, the power afforded for interests and state preferences are both composed of values and interests, which Preston correctly sees as leading directly back to religion.⁵⁹ There are other implications as well. Realists consider international law irrelevant due to the lack of ability to enforce it.⁶⁰ What are the moral implications of using power simply because others cannot stop it?⁶¹ What are the ethical implications of honoring legal agreements? A realist might answer that the moral implications do not matter—only interests do. That however, is a moral (possibly immoral, depending on the circumstances) answer. Any action taken under this set of criteria has an effect on international legitimacy as well, and that has long-term strategic repercussions.

Another way of evaluating policy is through a power⁶² versus restraint construct.⁶³ This applies to individuals as well as governments. The basic premise is that man, by nature, seeks power, both personally and through state apparatus; and that power is either checked by internal mechanism such as self-restraint due to ethical limits imposed through religious precept, or by governmental structure (checks and balances), or it runs free until or unless checked internationally. Different religions and ideologies offer differing opinions on the nature and necessity of restraint; an obvious example of a lack of restraint is Athens as represented in the Melian Dialogue, in which power is boldly expressed as, “the strong do what they can and the weak suffer what they must.”⁶⁴

If simpler assessments through values, interests, and political philosophies are insufficient to understand the history of American policy, or to understand policy principles well enough to produce it more effectively in the future, what method should one use? Only a thorough, scholarly review of policy's religious roots will be adequate.

Examining Policy Through Religious Eyes

It has been said, "culture is religion externalized."⁶⁵ If so, one of the instruments which shapes it is policy. Calling to mind the philosophical relationship between belief and governance, it is obvious that government leads, enforces and influences through policy. Policy can influence at multiple ideological levels simultaneously; in order to comprehend what policy is trying to achieve at its most fundamental level, one must view it through a religious lens. As established, this is meticulous work. An overarching methodology would be difficult to construct; providing guiding principles is more beneficial. Religious roots of policy must be evaluated in light of one's own worldview, through the worldview of those crafting it, and by the religious principle or principles it advances in its own right. These guidelines not only aid in understanding established policy, but in crafting effective and enduring policy for the future.

To begin, judging policy is invariably and unavoidably accomplished through a personal worldview. For reasons already alluded to, suspending assumptions is not recommended; simply acknowledging them and remaining aware of how one's own presuppositions might influence judgment is sufficient. In other words, we should not read something into someone else's policy, but should rather understand it from its own perspective. This is difficult to achieve, and requires familiarity with other religions and their branches of thought. This self-awareness includes the ability, as much as possible,

to recognize non-conformities in our own worldview. As stated previously, worldviews are complicated. They often contain unintentional, subtle religious contradictions that have not been intellectually or consciously resolved. Those involved with policy should repeatedly ask themselves why they believe the way they do in order to reconcile these inconsistencies. Often, for example, a person with a declared atheistic worldview borrows heavily from Christian principles, and vice versa. This can also distort the study of policy, or can inadvertently instill new policy with latent incoherencies that manifest themselves under specific circumstances when enacted later.

Policy is also judged through the study of the religious worldviews of others.⁶⁶ To narrow the focus, it is important to discern who made the policy—who the influential actors were, and what influence they had on it. Once this is known with any degree of certainty, all of the religious influences are important. What are the religions that influenced their worldviews, from childhood to adult associations? Are denominations or sects involved? Did any of the main policy makers ever receive influence from prominent religious leaders or fringe groups, and if so, what was the relationship's quality and duration? This is more difficult to ascertain than delving into one's own worldview. Some practical methods of accomplishing this include reviewing policy statements, speeches, or voting records, investigating college papers and theses, and researching professional affiliations, pastors and friends, to name a few. If policy is based on a U.S. interest, what value originated the interest, and how does their worldview define it? From their perspective, is man basically good or bad, how is that defined, and is government generally the problem or the solution? Is man restrained

morally or ethically in any way? How does religion inform their understanding of end times or the role of God in government?

Finally, a thorough study of the specific policy principles (either enacted or proposed) must be accomplished. Again, policy usually affects multiple ideological levels at the same time, from pragmatic, to political, to economic, to religious. One must continue to aggressively ask “why?” in order to uncover them. If policy is a religious act in the political realm, an executive agent of religion, what is it trying to accomplish? Who or what is it directed against, or what behavior is it trying to influence? If the underlying principle is identifiable, what is the historical taxonomy of that thread of thought? How justifiable is it, and what justifies it—theistic mandate or relativism? Discover where different values may share religious principles with which to connect and engender trust. Places to look for these include any religions with shared histories. As the U.S. transitions to a more secular society, this could create difficulties in crafting effective Middle Eastern foreign policy, as Islamic monotheist principles have more in common with Christian monotheist principles than with secular humanist, atheistic ones. Where are the latent inconsistencies? All of this presupposes a solid background in religious studies, comparative religions, worldviews and ethics.

Why is this necessary? As established, policy is faith-based governmental intent based on religious principles, principles which vie for influence in such arenas as the mind, public debate, and if taken too far, the battlefield. Knowing there is inadequate scholarship, students of policy must begin rigorously dedicating themselves to filling the educational void in the discipline of religion and policy. Policy makers, knowing that religion plays the most fundamental role in policy can start including it more robustly in

their decision-making. Additionally, realizing that it is inescapably part of all policy discussion, avowedly religious policy makers can more confidently defend their policy positions without fearing they will have to cede their arguments to secularism on false pretenses.

American society is changing. According to the Heritage foundation, 67% of Americans now depend on some form of federal entitlement, at the same time the percentage of citizens paying taxes, roughly 50%, is at an all time low.⁶⁷ Treasury Secretary Timothy Geithner testified that U.S. entitlement spending is unsustainable.⁶⁸ Additionally, continued deficit spending, over \$1 trillion for the fourth straight year,⁶⁹ is the prime contributor to our burgeoning national debt, which was described by the previous Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff as our top national security threat.⁷⁰ All of these consequences are the result of policies, enacted during an era when the number of people identifying as Christians, particularly among the elite, is in marked decline. If Henry van Til and Paul Tillich are correct, then there is a direct relationship between these events and the religious outlook of the policy makers driving them, an outlook with national security implications. Policy makers can use the guidelines provided here to probe all the religious ramifications of policy to produce policy that is beneficial to American national security, policy that is effective and enduring.

Conclusion

Every person is a proponent of some fundamental system; ideologies reside in humans, after all. No one is unbiased, and “few human imperatives are as fundamental as the religious.”⁷¹ This does not mean that someone’s opinion cannot change (based on reasonable argument, emotion, etc.), or that there are people who are in many ways

agnostic, either willing to question or accepting of others' views. It does mean that their minds change from another established position; they never change from neutral. This paper is written with a position, hopefully not abusively, but dogmatic nonetheless. And every reader will read it from a position as well; no exceptions. The same holds true in matters of policy. No one sits at the policy table with a neutral suitcase of facts; otherwise they would be useless. They sit with a *position*. And all, whether a proponent of liberal internationalism, realist, or neoconservative approaches, one must contend with this truth.

Finally, this essay is not intended as an intellectual foray to sit on a shelf; it is for leaders and policy makers. A lack of awareness of the philosophical truths of governance often leads to the ceding of policy decisions to those who understand. While there are many ways and constructs under which to conceive, understand and judge policy, *understanding religion is the cornerstone*. The inevitable fact is that ultimately, public policy is always faith-based, with a moral intent. The question is, whose morals will it represent?⁷² Understanding this concept is vital because *policy is religious, religion is exclusive, and culture is religion externalized*, influenced in large measure by policy. Prepared by this knowledge, policy makers can ensure American national security by deliberately designing policy that is philosophically coherent and stable. In the final analysis, *lex orandi, lex credendi* rings true. How we “pray” is ultimately who we worship (a god or ourselves), and how we believe. Everything else, individually and collectively, flows from this decision.

Endnotes

¹ Prosper of Aquitaine, "Liber In Quo Proferuntur Auctoritates Episcoporum, etc., Capitulum VIII. Alias Cap. XI." In *Patrologia Latina*, ed. Jacques Paul Migne (Cooperatum Veritatis Societas, 2006), 51:209-210. http://www.documentacatholicaomnia.eu/02m/0390-0463,_Prosperus_Aquitanus,_De_Gratia_Dei_Et_Libero_Voluntatis_Arbitrio,_MLT.pdf (accessed February 25, 2012). "obsecrationum quoque sacerdotalium sacramenta respiciamus, quae ab Apostolis tradita in toto mundo atque in omni Ecclesia catholica uniformiter celebrantur, ut legem credendi lex statuat supplicandi." As translated from Latin, "supplications of the priests, too, look back on the sacraments, which have been handed down by the apostles in the whole world, and uniformly in all the Catholic Church are celebrated, in order to establish the law of believing [by] the law of supplication." Also, *Catechism of the Catholic Church* 1124. http://www.vatican.va/archive/ENG0015/_P32.HTM (accessed February 25, 2012). "The Church's faith precedes the faith of the believer who is invited to adhere to it. When the Church celebrates the sacraments, she confesses the faith received from the apostles - whence the ancient saying: lex orandi, lex credendi (or: legem credendi lex statuat supplicandi according to Prosper of Aquitaine [5th cent.]). The law of prayer is the law of faith: the Church believes as she prays. Liturgy is a constitutive element of the holy and living Tradition."

² Daniel, N. Robinson, PhD., "From the Upanishads to Homer," *Great Ideas of Philosophy*, 2nd Edition, Course 4200, .MP4 (Chantilly, VA: The Teaching Company, LLC., 2012). Topics listed at 9:28.

³ Seweryn Bialer, "Ideology and Soviet Foreign Policy," *Ideology and Foreign Policy: A Global Perspective*, ed. George Schwab (New York, 1978), 86, quoted in Hunt, "Ideology," 222. "The question becomes "not whether they have an ideology but to what ideology they subscribe; not whether ideology makes a difference but what kind of difference it makes for the shaping of their intentions, policies, and behavior."

⁴ *Random House Webster's Unabridged Dictionary*, 2nd ed., s.v. "Religion." New York: Random House, 1998.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid., s.v. "Ideology."

⁷ Michael H. Hunt, "Ideology," in *Explaining the History of Foreign Relations*, 2nd ed, ed. Michael J. Hogan and Thomas G. Paterson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 222.

⁸ Archpriest Leonid Kishkovsky, "Orthodoxy today: Ideology or faith?" *The Orthodox Church*, Spring/Summer 2011, 2.

⁹ David E. Cooper, *World Philosophies*, 2nd ed. (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers Ltd., 2003), 41.

¹⁰ David Fate Norton and Mary J. Norton, eds., *David Hume: A Treatise of Human Nature* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 52-74.

¹¹ Jeffrey J. Meyers, *The Lord's Service* (Moscow, ID: Canon Press, 2003), 114. "Rituals eventually influence what one believes. Over time *how* one worships, the ceremonies one performs, will determine *what* one believes."

¹² Jeanne Liedtka, "Strategic Thinking: Can it be Taught?" *Long Range Planning*, Vol. 31, No.1, 124, quoted in Captain Douglas E. Waters, *A Framework and Approach For Understanding Strategic Thinking and Developing Strategic Thinkers* (Carlisle Barracks, PA: U.S. Army War College, March 2011), quoted in U.S. Army War College, *Strategic Thinking, Selected Readings*, AY - 12 (Department of Command, Leadership and Management, Carlisle Barracks: U.S. Army War College, 2011), 18. "Strategic thinking is both creative and critical. Figuring out how to accomplish both types of thinking simultaneously has long troubled cognitive psychologists, since it is necessary to suspend critical judgment in order to think more creatively." See also, David Bohm, *On Dialogue* (New York: Routledge, 1996), 22. "...people in any group will bring to it assumptions, and as the group continues meeting, those assumptions will come up. What is called for is to suspend those assumptions, so that you neither carry them out nor suppress them. You don't believe them, nor do you disbelieve them; you don't judge them as good or bad."

¹³ Greg Bahnsen, Ph.D., *The Great Debate: Does God Exist?* (Transcript of public debate at the University of California, Irvine, 1985), 3-4. http://www.bellevuechristian.org/faculty/dribera/htdocs/PDFs/Apol_Bahnsen_Stein_Debate_Transcript.pdf (accessed February 27, 2012). "This, I think, is oversimplified thinking and again misleading, what we might call the *Pretended Neutrality* fallacy. One can see this by considering the following quotation from Dr. Stein: 'The use of logic or reason is the *only* valid way to examine the truth or falsity of any statement which claims to be factual.' One must eventually ask Dr. Stein, then, how he proves this statement itself. That is, how does he prove that logic or reason is the only way to prove factual statements? He is now on the horns of a real epistemological dilemma. If he says that the statement is true by logic or reason, then he is engaging in circular reasoning; and he's begging the question which he [supposedly] forbids. If he says that the statement is proven in some other fashion, then he refutes the statement itself, that logic or reason is the only way to prove things. Now my point is not to fault Dr. Stein's commitment to logic or reason, but to observe that it actually has the nature of a pre commitment or a presupposition. It is not something that he has proven by empirical experience or logic, but it is rather that by which he proceeds to prove everything else. He is not presuppositionally neutral in his approach to factual questions and disputes. He does not avoid begging crucial questions, rather than proving them in what we might call the garden variety, ordinary way."

¹⁴ In this sense, *moral* means either moral or immoral. Decisions always have a moral quality to them. The point is that a decision requiring judgment can never be *amoral*.

¹⁵ *Random House Webster's Unabridged Dictionary*, s.v. "Policy."

¹⁶ U. S. Army War College, *National Security Policy and Strategy, Course Directive and Course Readings*, AY - 12 (Department of National Security and Strategy, Carlisle Barracks: U.S. Army War College, 2006), 4.

¹⁷ *Random House Webster's Unabridged Dictionary*, s.v. "Humanism." Humanism is "any system or mode of thought or action in which human interests, values, and dignity predominate."

¹⁸ *The American Humanist Association*, http://www.americanhumanist.org/Who_We_Are/About_Humanism/Humanist_Manifesto_I (accessed February 20, 2012).

¹⁹ See Humanist Manifestos II and III on the same website. Additionally, the *Council for Secular Humanism* issued a "Secular Humanist Declaration" in 1980 in which religion is acknowledged only for its peripheral relevance to human "experience," rather than from the standpoint of detailing humanism's own possible philosophical connections to it. <http://www.secularhumanism.org/index.php?section=main&page=declaration#skepticism> (accessed February 20, 2012). Additionally, secular humanism is defined as "any set of beliefs that promotes human values without specific allusion to religious doctrines." Sol Steinmetz, ed., *Random House Webster's Unabridged Dictionary*, 1731.

²⁰ *Torcaso v. Watkins*, 367 U.S. 488 (1961), <http://supreme.justia.com/us/367/488/> (accessed February 9, 2012). In footnote 11 of this case, Justice Hugo Black specifically lists "Secular Humanism" as a "[religion] in this country which [does] not teach what would generally be considered a belief in the existence of God" and references a 1957 case where the humanist organization, *Fellowship of Humanity* was granted tax exempt status, despite non-theistic belief, due to activities otherwise resembling religion. Additionally, Justice Black referenced an additional court case, as well as five other sources in the *Torcaso* footnote, to justify his assertion that, "neither a State nor the Federal Government can constitutionally...aid those religions based on a belief in the existence of God as against those religions founded on different beliefs." See additionally, *U.S. v. Seeger*, 380 U.S. 163 (1965), <http://supreme.justia.com/cases/federal/us/380/163/case.html#173> (accessed February 20, 2012). The Court decided to grant conscientious religious objector status to humanists who do not believe in God, citing Dr. David Saville Muzzey, a leader in the *Ethical Culture Movement*: "Instead of positing a personal God, whose existence man can neither prove nor disprove, the ethical concept is founded on human experience. It is anthropocentric, not theocentric. Religion, for all the various definitions that have been given of it, must surely mean the devotion of man to the highest ideal that he can conceive. And that ideal is a community of spirits in which the latent moral potentialities of men shall have been elicited by their reciprocal endeavors to cultivate the best in their fellow men. What ultimate reality is we do not know; but we have the faith that it expresses itself in the human world as the power which inspires in men moral purpose. Thus, the 'God' that we love is not the figure on the great white throne, but the perfect pattern, envisioned by faith, of humanity as it should be, purged of the evil elements which retard its progress toward 'the knowledge, love and practice of the right.'"

²¹ James Madison, "Federalist No. 51," *Transcript of Federalist Papers, No. 10 & No. 51* (1787-1788), <http://www.ourdocuments.gov/doc.php?flash=true&doc=10&page=transcript> (accessed March 15, 2012). Speaking on the division of power architecture of the proposed U.S. government and how to design it to counteract man's natural proclivities, he wrote, "Ambition must be made to counteract ambition. The interest of the man must be connected with the constitutional rights of the place. It may be a reflection on human nature that such devices should be necessary to control the abuses of government. What is government itself but the greatest of all reflections on human nature?"

²² Francis MacDonald Cornford, *The Republic of Plato* (London: Oxford University Press, 1941), 176, 178-179.

²³ Timothy Shah, Daniel Philpott, and Monica Toft, "God and Democratic Diplomacy," May 18, 2011, <http://www.thepublicdiscourse.com/2011/05/3308> (accessed February 8, 2012). "All of our Harvard classmates (and in Monica Toft's case, University of Chicago classmates) who entered, say, the State Department had lots of political economy, or political sociology, or international security, or theories of democratization, crammed into their heads, and were well prepared to analyze almost any conceivable global political problem. But the one thing they did not have crammed into their heads was any understanding of religion, or even any expectation that religion might be an important factor in shaping global politics."

²⁴ Leo Ribuffo, "Religion and Foreign Policy," *The National Interest*, Summer 1998, 36.

²⁵ Jon Butler, "Jack-in-the-Box Faith: The Religion Problem in Modern American History," *The Journal of American History* 90, no. 4 (March 2004): 1359. "Figures and events appear as momentary, idiosyncratic thrustings up of impulses from a more distant American past or as foils for a more persistent secular history."

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 1358.

²⁷ Neil Gross and Solon Simmons, "How Religious are America's College and University Professors?" *Essay Forum on the Religious Engagements of American Undergraduates Online*, February 6, 2007, http://religion.ssrc.org/reforum/Gross_Simmons.pdf (accessed February 8, 2012).

²⁸ Robert P. Jones, Daniel Cox, William A. Galston, and E. J. Dionne, Jr., *What it Means to be American* (Washington, DC: Brookings, Public Religion Research Institute, 2011), 36, <http://publicreligion.org/site/wp-content/uploads/2011/09/PRRI-Brookings-What-it-Means-to-be-American-Report.pdf> (accessed February 8, 2012).

²⁹ Barry A. Kosmin and Ariela Keysar, "American Religious Identification Survey Summary Report 2008," March 2009, http://commons.trincoll.edu/aris/files/2011/08/ARIS_Report_2008.pdf (accessed February 8, 2012). "86% of American adults identified as Christians in 1990 and 76% in 2008...the U.S. population continues to show signs of becoming less religious [as defined by ARIS], with one out of every five Americans failing to identify a religious identity in 2008...The "Nones" (no stated religious preference, atheist or agnostic) continue to grow, though at a much slower pace than in the 1990s, from 8.2% in 1990, to 14.1% in 2001, to 15.0% in 2008."

³⁰ Phil Zuckerman, "Taking Leave of Religion," *The Chronicle Review*, November, 2011, <http://chronicle.com/article/Taking-Leave-of-Religion/129799> (accessed February 8, 2012). Additionally, Dr. Zuckerman, in "Majoring in Secular Studies," *The Guardian*, May 2011, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/cifamerica/2011/may/13/secular-studies-pitzer-zuckerman> (accessed February 8, 2012), cited the need for secular studies due to what he described as "non-belief" rates nearing 15-17% in the U.S. and near 30% in Canada and Europe. As shown, this is not "non-belief," but rather non-theistic and/or agnostic belief, or some other belief, non-traditionally defined.

³¹ Will Herberg, *Protestant, Catholic, Jew: An Essay in American Religious Sociology* (Garden City, 1960), 322-364, esp. 260, quoted in Butler, "Jack-in-the-Box Faith," 1364.

³² Gene Edward Veith, Jr., *Postmodern Times* (Wheaton, IL: Goodnews Publishers, 1994), 44. For an interesting account of Postmodernism and its effects on society, read Veith's commentary on Sir Alfred Toynbee's study on the rise and fall of civilizations, on pages 44-46.

³³ William Martin, "With God on Their Side: Religion and U.S. Foreign Policy," in Heclo and McClay, eds., *Religion Returns to the Public Square*, 327-59, quoted in Andrew Preston, "Bridging the Gap between the Sacred and the Secular in the History of American Foreign Relations," *Diplomatic History*, Volume 30, Issue 5, November 2006, 797. "On a more scholarly level, religious sociologist William Marin [sic] contends that to be successful, American diplomats must take into account both the religious views of foreign nations and their own nation's long religious tradition, and that a purely secular foreign policy is as unattainable as it is undesirable."

³⁴ Andrew Preston, "Bridging the Gap between the Sacred and the Secular in the History of American Foreign Relations," *Diplomatic History*, Volume 30, Issue 5, November 2006, 805. "Many diplomatic historians, in turn, have viewed the Cold War as predominantly a struggle over concepts and ideas."

³⁵ John 14:6 (NKJV). "I am the way, the truth and the Life. No one comes to the Father except through Me."

³⁶ Paul Copan, *True For You, But Not For Me* (Minneapolis, MN: Bethany House Publishers, 1998), 71. For a very good commentary on this subject, read the chapters entitled, "The Absolutism of Moral Relativism" and "The Exclusiveness of Religious Pluralism," pages 41-90.

³⁷ Barack Obama, *The Audacity of Hope* (New York: Three Rivers Press, 2006), 202-205. President Obama describes his pluralist faith journey through the following, in part: "For my mother, organized religion too often dressed up closed-mindedness in the garb of piety, cruelty and oppression in the cloak of righteousness...in our household the Bible, the Koran, and the Bhagavad Gita sat on the shelf alongside books of Greek and Norse and African mythology...my father, almost entirely absent from my childhood...had been raised a Muslim, by the time he met my mother he was a confirmed atheist...When my mother remarried, it was to an Indonesian with an equally skeptical bent, a man who saw religion as not particularly useful...I was sent first to a Catholic school and then to a predominantly Muslim school...for all her professed secularism, my mother was in many ways the most spiritually awakened person I've ever known." While these and other statements do not describe President Obama's religious worldview in its entirety, they do elucidate the religious beliefs and backgrounds of the major influences of his life, influences which undoubtedly affect (as they would anyone) his decision-making today.

³⁸ Cornford, *The Republic of Plato*, 133. "No objection of that sort, then, will disconcert us or make us believe that the same thing can ever...be two opposite things, at the same time, in respect to the same part of itself, and in relation to the same object." See also, "The same attribute cannot at the same time belong and not belong to the same subject and in the same respect," Aristotle in *Metaphysics* G, 3,1005b18-20.

³⁹ Gordon A. Craig, "Political and Diplomatic History," *Historical Studies Today*, eds. Felix Gilbert and Stephen R. Graubard (New York, 1972), 362, quoted in Andrew Preston, "Bridging the Gap between the Sacred and the Secular in the History of American Foreign Relations,"

Diplomatic History, Volume 30, Issue 5, November 2006, 789. "To establish the relationship between ideas and foreign policy is always a difficult task, and it is no accident that it has attracted so few historians." Preston writes, "With an amorphous and often undocumented phenomenon such as religion, then, causation becomes a key problem for the diplomatic historian."

⁴⁰ *Random House Webster's Unabridged Dictionary*, s.v. "Worldview."

⁴¹ In very general terms, a Christian worldview would include a belief in Christ as the Son of God, the infallibility of the Bible, and if procession of the Spirit in the *Filioque* is described in agreeable terms, a belief in the Nicene Creed. These principles would be shared by a majority of Catholics and Orthodox, as well as many Protestants in the world. Outside of this, there is wide variance, particularly among Protestants.

⁴² *Encyclopedia Britannica*, s.v. "Ithna Ashariyah." <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/297983/Ithna-Ashariyah> (accessed February 20, 2012). "An important sect of the Shī'ah (one of the major branches of Islām), believing in a succession of 12 *imāms*, leaders of the faith after the death of Muhammad, beginning with Ali ibn Abī ālib, fourth caliph and the Prophet's son-in-law."

⁴³ Andrew Preston, "The Deeper Roots of Faith and Foreign Policy," *International Journal* 65, Spring 2010, 455.

⁴⁴ Most of these terms are readily identifiable. Eschatology is the study of end-times, the three major branches being pre-, post-, and amillennialism. Each group has lesser subsets, and each could influence a Christian's view of governance from a markedly different perspective. Materialism needs emphasis as distinct from consumerism, although prideful consumerist desires could certainly conflict with other tenets of a Christian worldview. Materialism is the concept of matter being the fundamental aspect of universe, which is the foundational principle behind atheism. Though essentially different, those holding to a Christian worldview can certainly harbor materialistic ideas, knowingly or otherwise, which contradict other ideas within an otherwise Christian worldview.

⁴⁵ Tony Smith, "From Woodrow Wilson in 1902 to the Bush Doctrine in 2002: Democracy Promotion as Imperialism," *International Politics*, Volume 48, 2011, 229-230.

⁴⁶ Alan K. Henrikson, "The Geographical 'Mental Maps' of American Foreign Policy Makers," *International Political Science Review*, 1, October 1980, 495-530, quoted in Alan K. Henrikson, "Mental Maps," Hogan, Michael J., ed., *Explaining the History of American Foreign Relations* (Cambridge, 1991), 177.

⁴⁷ Alan K. Henrikson, "Mental Maps," Hogan, Michael J., ed., *Explaining the History of American Foreign Relations* (Cambridge, 1991), 188-190.

⁴⁸ *Random House Webster's Unabridged Dictionary*, s.v. "Value."

⁴⁹ G. R. Berridge and Alan James, *A Dictionary of Diplomacy* (Hampshire, U.K.: Palgrave-MacMillan, 2003), 181, quoted in Alan G. Stolberg, "Crafting National Interests in the 21st Century," *U.S. Army War College Guide to National Security Issues, Volume II: National*

Security Policy and Strategy, J. Boone Bartholomees, Jr., ed. (Strategic Studies Institute, Carlisle Barracks: U.S. Army War College, 2010), 4.

⁵⁰ Thomas West and William Schambra, "The Progressive Movement and the Transformation of American Politics," July 18, 2007, <http://www.heritage.org/research/reports/2007/07/the-progressive-movement-and-the-transformation-of-american-politics> (accessed February 20, 2012). "The Progressives rejected these claims as naive and unhistorical. In their view, human beings are not born free. John Dewey, the most thoughtful of the Progressives, wrote that freedom is not "something that individuals have as a ready-made possession." It is "something to be achieved." In this view, freedom is not a gift of God or nature. It is a product of human making, a gift of the state. Man is a product of his own history, through which he collectively creates himself. He is a social construct. Since human beings are not naturally free, there can be no natural rights or natural law."

⁵¹ U.S. Constitution, preamble.

⁵² Geoffrey Till, *Seapower: A Guide for the 21st Century* (U.K.: Routledge (UK) – Books, 2009), 2. "In a globalizing world, the post-modern systems approach tends to pull strategists forward geographically." Till wrote this in the context of globalizing technology, but the same holds true ideologically with a post-modernist perspective.

⁵³ Gillis Harp, "Statutes of Liberty," *Touchstone* (November/December 2011): 22-24.

⁵⁴ Colonel Deborah L. Hanagan, "The Democratic Peace," unpublished paper, 6.

⁵⁵ Francis MacDonald Cornford, *The Republic of Plato*, 287.

⁵⁶ John Adams to John Taylor, April 15, 1814, in *The Works of John Adams*, ed. Charles Francis Adams, vol. 6, (1851), 484, quoted in *Respectfully Quoted*, ed. Suzy Platt (Barnes and Noble, 1993), 83. "Remember democracy never lasts long. It soon wastes, exhausts, and murders itself. There never was a democracy yet that did not commit suicide."

⁵⁷ Markeshia Ricks, "Air Force Yanks Nuclear Ethics Course," *Air Force Times*, August 4, 2011, <http://www.airforcetimes.com/news/2011/08/air-force-nuclear-ethics-course-yanked-080411> (accessed February 8, 2012). In response to a Truthout.org article detailing the Christian principles used to support an Air Force Just War Theory class, the Air Force immediately removed all Christian references, replacing some with references to Cicero, and leaving others unsupported. As neutral as this may purport to be, any Just War principle still has a religiously defined ethic. Ironically, now they are not nearly as justifiable, as they remain unsubstantiated, and any which remain grounded in materialism are just as religious as their Christian counterparts. Truthout.org can no more keep religion separate from government than Constantine; but if policy pundits continue to acquiesce to their false argument, Truth.org's values will inform the new state-sponsored religion, Secular Humanism.

⁵⁸ Colonel Deborah L. Hanagan, "International Order," quoted in U. S. Army War College, *National Security Policy and Strategy, Course Directive and Course Readings*, AY - 12 (Department of National Security and Strategy, Carlisle Barracks: U.S. Army War College, 2006), 248, 251.

⁵⁹ Preston, "The Deeper Roots of Faith and Foreign Policy," 452. "The presence of religion in American public life is too broad, deep, diffuse, and diverse to be reliant upon any single person or group. Indeed, the key to understanding the ever-present ideological and moral bases for U.S. foreign policy – with which even realists have to contend – lies mainly in a better understanding of an American religious tradition that cannot be reduced to simple stereotypes about evangelicals and fundamentalists."

⁶⁰ Hanagan, "International Order," 249.

⁶¹ James Madison to James Monroe, October 5, 1786, quoted in Ralph Ketcham, *James Monroe, A Biography*, (University Press of Virginia, 1990), 181. "There is no maxim in my opinion which is more liable to be misapplied, and which therefore needs elucidation than the current one that the interest of the majority is the political standard of right and wrong.... In fact it is only reestablishing under another name and a more specious form, force as the measure of right...."

⁶² Hans J. Morganthau, *Politics Among Nations*, 5th ed. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1973), 27-40, especially 40. "Domestic and international politics are but two different manifestations of the same phenomenon: the struggle for power."

⁶³ Kenneth Waltz, "Structural Realism after the Cold War," *International Security*, Vol 25, No. 1, Summer 2000, 13, http://www.columbia.edu/itc/sipa/U6800/readings-sm/Waltz_Structural%20Realism.pdf (accessed February 9, 2012). "Peace is maintained by a delicate balance of internal and external restraints."

⁶⁴ Robert B. Strassler, ed., *The Landmark Thucydides* (New York: Free Press, 1996), 351-357.

⁶⁵ Paul Tillich, "Aspects of a Religious Analysis of Culture," *The Essential Tillich*, ed. F. Forrester Church (Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 103. "Religion is the substance of culture, culture is the form of religion." This quote by Tillich, a Harvard University professor and influential theologian, was referenced by Henry van Til, a professor at Calvin College and nephew of the renowned theologian Cornelius van Til, in his discussion on religion and its ramifications on society. It is important to note that while these are Protestant theologians, they are writing about culture in general, not solely Christian culture. Every society, through the manifestations of its law, art, music, relationships, policies, etc., is the collective and cultural result of what its people believe. Henry van Til writes, "Religion, to paraphrase the poet's expressive phrase, is not of life a thing apart, it is man's whole existence. [John A.] Hutchison, indeed, comes to the same conclusion when he says, "For religion is not one aspect or department of life beside the others, as modern secular thought likes to believe; it consists rather in the orientation of all human life to the absolute." Tillich has captured the idea in a trenchant line, "Religion is the substance of culture and culture the form of religion." Henry R. van Til, *The Calvinistic Concept of Culture* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House Company, 1972), 37. Henry van Til is often quoted as saying "culture is religion externalized" due to this reference from Tillich; regardless, the maxim holds true.

⁶⁶ Preston, "The Deeper Roots of Faith and Foreign Policy," 451-462, especially, 461. Andrew Preston provides a good example in detailing some of the religious influences of a few prominent American policy makers, including Alfred Thayer Mahan, John Foster Dulles, and Henry Kissinger. "But perhaps most important is the importance of their religious backgrounds,

ranging from actively devout to cultural identifier. However, in today's atmosphere of shrill religious extremes, from religious fundamentalism to the equally unbending activist atheism of Richard Dawkins and Christopher Hitchens, none of these foreign policy thinkers would be thought of as having been particularly shaped by their faith. And yet any understanding of their worldviews is at best incomplete, and at worst mistaken, without considering the religious influence."

⁶⁷ *The Heritage Foundation Factsheet*, "2012 Index of Dependence on Government: No Slowdown in Sight," February 8, 2012, http://thf_media.s3.amazonaws.com/2012/pdf/fs102.pdf (accessed February 25, 2012).

⁶⁸ Treasury Secretary Timothy Geithner and U.S. Congress, Senate, Committee on Finance, *United States Senate Committee on Finance Witness Testimony*, 112th Cong., 2nd sess., February 16, 2011, <http://finance.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/021610%20tg.pdf> (accessed February 25, 2012). "Our deficits are too high and they are unsustainable. Left unaddressed, these deficits will hurt economic growth and make us weaker as a nation. We must go back to living within our means."

⁶⁹ Congressional Budget Office, *The Budget and Economic Outlook: Fiscal Years 2012 to 2022* (Washington, DC: Congressional Budget Office, January 2012), 4. "The budget deficit in fiscal year 2011 was \$1.3 trillion, nearly unchanged from the deficit recorded in the previous year. As a percentage of GDP, the deficit was 8.7 percent in 2011, down slightly from the 9.0 percent recorded in 2010. Under current law, the budget shortfall will decline to \$1.1 trillion (7.0 percent of GDP) in 2012, CBO projects, the fourth consecutive year it will have exceeded \$1.0 trillion."

⁷⁰ CNN Wire Staff, "Mullen: Debt is top national security threat," *CNN*, August 27, 2010, <http://www.cnn.com/2010/US/08/27/debt.security.mullen/> (accessed February 25, 2012). In a statement to CNN the former Chairman stated, "The most significant threat to our national security is our debt. And the reason I say that is because the ability for our country to resource our military—and I have a pretty good feeling and understanding about what our national security requirements are—is going to be directly proportional—over time, not next year or the year after, but over time—to help our economy." He reiterated this as recently as September 2011; see interview by Army Sgt. 1st Class Tyrone C. Marshall Jr., "Debt is Biggest Threat to National Security, U.S. JCS Chairman Says," *Defense Professionals*, September 23, 2011, <http://www.defpro.com/news/details/28122/?SID=bad13c578201d91fb919e5ac86b96ac2> (accessed February 25, 2012).

⁷¹ Preston, "Bridging the Gap between the Sacred and the Secular in the History of American Foreign Relations," 810. "Religion is, and always has been, one of the preeminent forces in American life. On important matters of public policy—especially ones involving decisions of war and peace—there are few who can command as broad, attentive, and responsive an audience as the clergy. Religion can thus illuminate the intellectual and political origins of any number of diplomatic phenomena, including human rights, collective security, isolationism, morality, preventative and preemptive war, nuclear strategy, foreign aid, imperialism, and interventionism. This is true—one could even argue particularly true—of the United States, including its politics, its culture and its diplomacy."

⁷² A telling example of the lack of understanding of this concept is illustrated in the recent policy memo by the Chief of Staff of the Air Force (CSAF) entitled, "Maintaining Government

Neutrality Regarding Religion," <http://blog.militaryatheists.org/wp-content/uploads/2011/09/HQAF-neutrality.jpg> (accessed February 25, 2012), tellingly posted on the website of Military Atheists and Freethinkers. "[Leaders] must avoid the actual or apparent use of their position to promote their personal religious beliefs to their subordinates or to extend preferential treatment for any religion...[Commanders] must refrain from appearing to officially endorse religion generally or any particular religion." Arguments concerning the Constitutionality regarding the free expression of religion aside, from the information in this essay it should be clear that philosophically, the policy from the CSAF memo is likely incoherent due to the logical contradictions contained within the pluralistic worldview. It is impossible to *not* show endorsement for religion (unless perhaps, a person is in a vegetative coma). If it is not clear that the CSAF, intentionally or otherwise, through and despite his neutrality policy, as the top Air Force leader, publically endorses a tenet of the secular humanist religion, discriminately over other religions, please re-read this essay more carefully.

